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Impact of Developmental Programmes on the Socio-Cultural Life of Juangs; "A Case Study of Village Khajuribani"

Bimbadhar Behera

Introduction

The Juangs who occupy a very remarkable position among the tribal communities of Orissa draw special attention from various corners due to their primitiveness and aboriginal behaviour. Nonetheless, the tribe holds a unique position as it is found only in this State and therefore, has certain peculiar features of its own. Concern about them and their way of life has increased in recent times, well after the inception of planning processes in India as instrument of change and development. Their cultural contact with the neighbouring non-tribals has not only grown deeper and intimate over the time and both official administration as well as non-official agencies operating in the area have tried to establish contact with them in order to induce their respective programmes. Consequently, the Juangs have not been spared of the process of persistence and change. Their status quo is chiefly supported by various elements provided in their traditional culture. Change of whatever order and quality occurring to them can mainly be attributed to culture-contact and both intended as well as unintended efforts by the development agencies. In the light of the above, the aim and scope of the present work is confined mainly to the exploration of the magnitude of Socio-cultural changes taking place among the Juangs of Keonjhar due to implementation of various programmes for their development. The fact that Keonjhar happens to be the homeland of Juangs, who claim to be the autochthones of the highland region of the district with Gonesika, the source of river Balisani as the most important landmark. Whatever change has among them is due to the impact of development programmes. This is the reason why the Juangs

of Keonjhar are chosen to be the sample individuals in this study. Though the tribe spreads over Keonjhar and Dhenkanal, the changes among the Juangs of Dhenkanal, can mainly be attributed to factors other than impact of development forces. This view has been supported by various writings and also corroborated by tribal legends and folk tales. The village Khajuribani has been selected as sample in the study for the reason that it forms a part of the erstwhile Jung Pith area of Keonjhar feudatory state, being inhabited by primitive Juangs. Though most of the villages of former Jung Pith are now included under the Banspal T. D. Block, it is one of the few villages which comes under Harichandanpur Block, a comparatively advanced area. The area of the village touches the boundaries of three blocks, such as Banspal, Teltol and Harichandanpur of which only the former constitutes the remote locality of the district. The village is also interestingly located just at the foot-hill of Gonesika Mountain range and the villages are able to get the benefits of forest economy and the cow and agriculture. They also come in contact with the neighbouring non-tribal population mainly belonging to "Chase" Community who greatly influence them in the field of settled agriculture.

Against this backdrop the broad objectives of the present study are—

- (i) to evaluate the developmental programmes and their impact on the life of the Juangs;
- (ii) to locate the various levels of their traditional society where change has taken place and measure the degree by which the different spheres of the tribe have been influenced; and

- (iii) to identify the social, cultural and psychological barriers as well as stimulants responsible for either hindering or accelerating the change process and if possible to give necessary suggestions for improving the effectiveness of developmental programmes.

Location and Demography

The village Khajuribani is within the Munda G. P. of Harichandpur Block in the district of Keonjhar. It is about 38 Kms. from Keonjhar-garh District Headquarters town and moderate road communication is available up to Janghla, where from a rough but manageable road facility of about 6 Kms. towards west is available to reach the village.

The village consists of three hamlets, namely, Khajuribani, Palangothe and Gaudasahi with about 80 households having an approximate population of 400. The major communities that live in the village are the Juangs and the Gopals. All the households except 20 Gopals families and the lone Mohanta family are Juangs.

Traditional Features

While examining the process of continuity and change among the Juangs of Khajuribani, it seems worthwhile to give a brief account of the traditional features of the tribe for proper appreciation of the process of change undergoing within the community.

Traditionally, the Juangs are one of the most backward groups of the State, having their own language, customs and practices which they retain even now despite considerable changes which have taken place in their tribal way of life. Being a group dependent upon shifting cultivation and forest based economy, they prefer to settle near a spring or a river mainly at the top or the slopes of the hills. The villages present a scene of scattered single roomed huts surrounded by Jacfruit and mango trees due to their intimate relationship with forests and hills. The traditional beliefs and attitudes are shaped by unseen supernatural powers having its deep influence on their Socio-Cultural and religious life. Their preference to community living for social, economic and other purposes has been facilitated by the institution of *Mojings* which serves the purpose of both village dormitory and a community house.

Change and Development Factors and Levels

The villagers get stimulation for their development by a number of infrastructural facilities available both within and outside the village. There is one Sevashram School of the State H. & T. W. Department providing education to the Juang children up to upper primary level. A low cost Hostel providing free accommodation and fooding to the tribal students is also attached with the school. For looking after the maternity and childcare, one Anganbadi Centre is operating in the village. Besides, an unit of Sishu Bhavan, Keonjhar with its branch at Sonagiri, looks after the health aspects of the villagers. A branch Post Office is also functioning in the village. The villagers get the impetus for development from the developmental units operating in the nearby villages. The V. A. W. Centre at Manpur is only 3 Kms. from the village. Janghla which is about 6 Kms. away from the village provides education, banking, health, co-operative and marketing facilities as there is a LAMP Co-operative Society, Schools and Colleges, P. M. C., branch of S. B. I. and a weekly market.

One of the most important factor which is responsible for the changed attitude and outlook of the Juangs of Khajuribani, is perhaps the introduction of the colonisation scheme in this village during the initial stages of planned development, i. e. during the sixties. The village was selected for the purpose by State Government for discouraging Podu Cultivation and the villagers were motivated by a social worker to descend down the hill to the foot-hill where they are presently residing. Under the colonisation scheme, attempts were made to provide all the basic needs of the tribal people. A water harvesting structure was constructed by the Government to provide irrigation facilities to the cultivable land of the Juangs. The personal and official influence of the social worker on a few of the leading Juang villagers might have its long standing impact on other Juang people. The village has been electrified recently.

The traditional Juang society of Khajuribani has undergone changes of different degrees in various spheres of their life and culture.

Socio-Cultural

The change process has a mixed impact in the life of the villagers in as much as it has its significant effects in their housing structure, settlement pattern, folk dance, health and hygiene but in the field of education, very marginal changes are found. The traditional scattered settlement pattern has been replaced by linear pattern of non-tribal population of neighbouring villages. Five Juanga families have pucca houses with cement tile roofing and cement plastering. Most of the families have comparatively big houses with earthen tile roofings. Some have windows while others have skylights in place of windows for ventilation. The cattle and goat sheds of some of the families have been modernised. Only a few houses still retain their traditionality in housing structure. Modern household articles are also possessed by some of them. The Majanga of the village consist of two big pucca buildings and though they still retain some of the traditional musical instruments, modern articles like big brass stoves and a pair of petrolax is kept there. The health consciousness is increased remarkably and they are now more inclined to modern allopathic treatment rather than solely depending on herbs and satisfaction of spirits. They are now unhesitatingly using the drinking water facility of tubewells, though they have not completely discarded the usefulness of the spring water. Remarkable changes have also been found in the dress style and ornaments of the villagers. It is now very difficult to distinguish them from that of other non-tribal rural population. The traditional songs and dance has also undergone changes. Being influenced by Hindu culture, they are now reciting "Bhajans" and "Janeses" in their Chango dance. Some of the Hindu festivals have also been observed.

Though the villagers appreciate the value of education at their mental level, the rate of illiteracy is still as high as 85 per cent. Even the advanced families are not availing themselves of the educational facility.

Economic

The changes in the sphere of economy is also significant. Though they have weaknesses for shifting cultivation due to want of Pudu land and Governmental pressure, they now prefer settled cultivation which emerges as profitable for them. They are now using chemical fertiliser and

pesticides for better yield. Though they hesitate to take loans for various reasons, it is a significant fact that all the villagers are enrolled as member of the LAHAP. Most of the villagers have planted fruit bearing trees like banana, coconut, Sojana, etc. in their kitchen garden along with mango and jackfruit trees.

Political

In the political area some of the villagers are politically conscious. The rate of participation is very high. The degree of political information and knowledge is also high. They appreciate the modern political system and there is no confrontation among the traditional leaders and the emerging leadership.

Conclusion

The forces of modernization have greatly influenced the socio-cultural and political life of the Juanga of Khajuribani through the implementation of Programmes by various agencies. The process has gone deep into the traditional Socio-cultural fabric of the tribal community and their traditional Society has undergone multifarious changes at Psychological, Intellectual and Social levels. The changes that have occurred at the mental level of the tribe provide the impetus for the changes in other spheres of their society.

At the psychological level, there has been fundamental shift of values, attitudes and expectations. And the modern Juanga now believe that change in nature and Society is both possible and desirable. Change is also marked in their efficacy. They now feel that they have the potentiality to bring about necessary changes in their own society and can adjust themselves to the changing environment by broadening of their loyalties and identifications from immediate primary groups like family, clan and villages to larger and more important groupings like class, nation, etc.

At the intellectual level, there has been a tremendous expansion of their knowledge about their environment. The knowledge acquired by the few advanced individuals also got diffused throughout the society without much difficulty. In spite of all these, poverty in the community still stands as a boulder and a majority of Juanga have no significant intellectual advancement. But there seems to be a sort of mental preparedness amongst most men of the community to accept new ideas unhesitatingly.

At the level of demography, marked improvement in the standard of living is noticed. Changes in their life style coupled with increase in health, consciousness and life expectancy, greater occupational and geographical mobility are also found among them.

At the social level, no significant change has occurred so far. But the community has slowly replacing their focus of individual loyalty to family and other primary groups to wider levels of the society. In the cultural sphere the culture of the neighbouring Hindu Society influence them to some extent.

At the economic level, the subsistence forest economy of shifting cultivation has been replaced by modern market agriculture and the scope of their economic activity which was previously confined to the village or community, is now widened enough so as to integrate into the larger economic system.

At the political level though the Juangs have not fully abandoned their traditional political structure, are now participating in various types of democratic political activities at different levels.

Multiple factors are responsible for all these changes at various levels of the Juangs of the village under study. But the important among these are:—

1. The tribal development programmes of the Government with principal emphasis on agriculture, irrigation and income generation schemes.
2. Culture contact of the villagers with the neighbouring non-tribal population, and
3. The geographical mobility of the villagers from the top-hill to the fertile and wetter valley with provision for cultivable lands and irrigation facility provided by the water harvesting structure.

The geographical mobility with adequate infrastructural facilities is responsible for the increased economic activity and occupational

mobility of the Juangs of Khejuriabasi which has definitely enhanced the process of development in the village. But the picture of the village can not be said to be the development of the tribe or the village as a whole. Some of the families have definitely improved their lot and the development process may spread from them to other members of the village in the long run but still there are families who are far behind in various aspects of their social and cultural life. Of the three spheres of relationship among the tribals, man and woman, man and nature and man and supernatural, the Juangs of the village have undergone significant changes in the man spirit relationship. But in other two fields, though minor change is noticed, major part still remain as it was.

It is not correct to say that the few who could get the benefit of Tribal Development Programmes, have advanced in the desired direction. Their level of education is still very low. They subject themselves to economic exploitation by the non-tribals. This suggests that mere agriculture and other productive activities, in isolation of knowledge of money, economy, marketing, banks and trade, etc. will not help right economic growth. To cope with this situation spread of education among the tribe is badly necessary as economic development and educational development are highly inter-connected and can together prove to be the better means for tribal development. In the course of the unexplored history of thousands of years of Juang life the most remarkable feature is their silent suffering in the dark jungles around the Gontals. Prolonged predicament over the years has taught them to grow an infinite capacity to endure the endless vicissitudes of life in an unfriendly atmosphere. Yet, it has not generated the much needed spark to boost the tribal civilisation. They have always preferred to live in isolation and any interference from the outside world has received a cold response. The Governmental and non-Governmental agencies operating in this region have to take this tribal psychology into consideration before embarking on vigorous projects for their meaningful emancipation.

GROWTH OF EDUCATION AMONG THE KANDHA TRIBE IN THE 19th CENTURY

Dr. Nihar Ranjan Pattnaik

The Kandha constituted one of the principal aborigines of hills inhabiting the region extending from the eastern limit of Gandavans to Bay of Bengal, and the Mahanadi river on the north to the Godavari on the South.

It is most unfortunate that education could not reach the Kandhas, who were living in the hills and forests. In this connection William Adam in his educational report of 1838 writes, "I am aware that much may be, and has been, done to civilise those tribe by promoting and protecting industry, by administering justice between man and man, and by punishing crimes against society. But such moral conquests can be secured only by that knowledge and those habits which education gives, and the means of education have hitherto been very sparingly employed."¹

Of course there were a good number of difficulties to educate the Kandhas. First, the areas in which the Kandhas lived were by and large inaccessible and the climate of these areas was unhealthy. Further more, there was lack of proper communication. As such influx of the settlers from the more civilized parts who could have educated the Kandhas was not possible. Secondly, the Kandhas were apathetic and indifferent to education. They used to say that they had never known what learning was and could not see why it was necessary for their children. The most absurd argument was that reading would make their eyes felt from their sockets.² Further, the Kandhas used to believe that education would make their boys idle in the fields.³ They were also under the impression that their children, after receiving education,

would not help their illiterate parents in the field work. Even the prospect of employments did not attract the attention of the parents for sending their children to school.⁴ They thought that the real intention of the Government was to take away the children who would stir readings. It was also seen that in some schools pupils were actually withdrawn in consequence of this mischievous report.⁵ Macdonald observed that the Kandhas some how developed an impression that education and taxation would go together, and that the establishment of schools was a measure in some way connected with the future assessment of their lands.⁶ Furthermore the Kandhas and their Chiefs were reluctant to see schools established in their localities because they superstitiously feared that such an act might bring calamities for them. The elders used to argue that if for centuries they could live happily without education, why could they not live without it now?⁷ Such were the feelings of the Kandhas towards education. As John Campbell wrote in this connection, "The hardening influence of self-cherished ignorance had full possession of these old chiefs, and their gloomy superstitions and hatred of knowledge would and only with their lives."⁸ Thus, it was difficult for both the Missionaries and the British Government to introduce education in the Kandha tracts. Till 1848 there was not much progress in the field of education among the Kandhas.

The British officials in charge of the suppression of Malar and infanticide were the first to take interest in educating the Kandhas. S.C. Macpherson, the Malar Agent, tried to carry education into the Kandha hills, as early as

possible. He thought that through the moral and religious advancement of the Kandhas by educating them their ancestral faith and usages supporting human sacrifice could come under permanent change. When J. Cadenehead was in charge of managing the Mariah Agency in 1844-45, Macpherson requested him repeatedly to adopt some measures as speedily as possible to establish some schools in the Kandha hills. Cadenehead tried to give some concrete shape to this proposal. But it was of no avail as he had to remain busy in other difficult problems of the Agency.⁹

In 1847, John Campbell took charge of the Mariah Agency from Macpherson. He was very zealous for the establishment of schools in the Kandha hills.¹⁰ During his tenure a number of steps were taken in the Kandha tracts for the spread of education. In the year 1850-51, seven elementary schools were established in the Kandha hills of Ghumsar for imparting education to the Kandha children of those tracts.¹¹ These were in Chhina Kimsdy, Kurnimgla, Udayagiri, Mahasingi and Ghumsar.¹² But the progress of these schools was not satisfactory. The attendance of the students was not encouraging. The parents did not co-operate to send their children to the schools. In some schools, the teachers proved their inability to teach and could not attract the Kandha children to the schools.¹³

R. M. Macdonald, the Assistant Agent inspecting the above schools wrote, "Children from the villages stopped often came, attracted by curiosity, to my tent: as soon as the subject of schools was introduced, they would immediately disappear from the crowd and the Malikas would gravely proceed to inform me, that, even if they wished it, no school could be established there, as there happened to be no children in that particular Mootah".¹⁴

However, on the recommendation of Macdonald, sanction was granted for the establishment of nine schools on an experimental basis. The appointment of an Inspector on a salary of thirty rupees per mensem was also granted. The salary of the teachers which was hardly five rupees per mensem was raised to ten rupees. An additional allowance of five rupees per mensem was to be given as incentive allowance to teachers whose schools would be reported best.¹⁵ But Macdonald reported that none of the Kandha schools which had been established hitherto

were working due to the want of supervisee and indelicacy of qualified masters. Therefore, he suggested that some purely Oriya schools which had comparatively less difficulties, might be converted to mixed schools for Oriya and Kandhas. He made this suggestion on consideration of the benefit that would accrue

to the fact of Oriya and Kandha boys reading together in the same school. The former might influence the latter in the interest of the general welfare of the society. He also hoped that the students, after completion of their education from such schools, would be competent enough to become teachers with the knowledge of the Kandha language and would be able to teach better to the Kandha students of the hill areas.¹⁶ However, the Oriya schools in plains which henceforth served as mixed schools for Oriya as well as Kandha students could not fulfil the expectation. The Oriyas did not like to send their children to such schools lest they might be spoiled by coming in contact with the Kandha children. The Kandhas on the other hand were apathetic towards allowing their children to join their mixed schools.¹⁷

Meanwhile the famous Educational Despatch of 1854 (Wood's Despatch) gave encouragement to private enterprises for running schools.¹⁸ Whatever might be the utilitarian aspect of Wood's Despatch, the people of Orissa along with the Kandhas received no immediate benefits from it.¹⁹

By 1855-56, eleven schools had been working in the hill tracts of Ganjam. However, compared to previous years, the progress made in these schools was somewhat good. Early many of the Malikas or Hill Chiefs refused to permit their children to attend the schools. Later on, the guardians, after permitting the names of their children to be entered in the schools register, withdrew their names on the plea that such children had been suddenly afflicted with various diseases. At least that is what they told the authorities. After much persuasion one of the father agreed to permit his son to attend school on the tacit understanding that his name should not be recorded in the school's register. However, two of them consented unconditionally. But it was during 1855-56 that some resenting Hill Chiefs were found to have come voluntarily with a request to establish schools in their villages. One of them even volunteered to send his daughters to school. This change in the senti-

ments of the Hill Chiefs tended to show that a desire for education was gradually kindling in the Kandha tracts.²⁰

Macdonald, the Assistant Agent, had previously recommended the establishment of a small model school at Russelkonda, in which the teachers of the existing schools were to receive training for developing the modes of teaching. He had also recommended that a number of Kandha youths might be educated to be employed in the teaching cadre in question. Further, he proposed to grant a small monthly allowance for the maintenance of a teacher and a limited number of pupils at his Headquarters at Russelkonda. Such pupils might be given a course of reading, writing, arithmetic and drill. And the most intelligent of them should, at the expiration of a fixed period of probation, be rewarded with a post in the Sibbundes or in the Hill Police. Furthermore, the most promising pupils from the other schools should be grafted from time to time into the school at Russelkonda, to compete for the vacant situations. Thus the chance of getting an employment would give a stimulus to the parents for sending their children to school. On the basis of Macdonald's recommendation a Training School for Teachers was established at Russelkonda. But initially his recommendation did not prove successful. No prospect of employment induced the parents to part with their children.²¹

In spite of the failure to achieve the desired results, the Missionaries' work for the spread of education in the Kandha tracts deserves admiration. With the patronage of the Bapists Missionaries a few Mariah schools were opened to rehabilitate the rescued Marikhas.²² In this regard the efforts of the Missionaries, namely Mr. and Mrs. Stubbins, Mr. and Mrs. Wilkinson and Mr. and Mrs. Buckley, were the most commendable.²³ The Missionaries also published some school books written in Kul language for the Kandha children.²⁴ Many of the rescued Marikhas were educated in Mission Schools at Barhampur, Cuttack and Balasore.²⁵ The Missionaries received rupees three from the Government for each Mariah child for their maintenance.²⁶ However, compared to the plain area, the number of Missionary schools in Kandha tracts was very few.

The Roman Catholics too tried to educate the children of the Kandha tracts of Orissa. They set up a school where education was provided to the rescued orphans and poor children of the Kandha hills.

In 1855-60, the progress of education was quite encouraging in the hill tracts of Ganjam. There were seventeen schools in places like Kurningiya, Udayagiri, Nuagun, Tualigodo, Kolnur, Chokaped, Brahmapad, Posson, Donga, Chatigodo, Neddigodo, Godapar, Subarnagiri, Purnagodo, Shankarkhol, Gadrikiya and Sarangodo. Besides, there was also a Mariah school at Upperbhaga of the hill tracts of Ganjam, which was established on the 1st February 1856. The attendance in these schools was quite heartening.²⁷ Teaching was imparted mainly in Oriya, History, Geography, Mathematics, Astronomy and English were the subjects taught to the students.²⁸ But the course of studies was found to be difficult for the Kandha students. That was because they could not grasp either grammar or even History and Geography, what to speak of the didactic portions of the 'Mitopodesh' and Sutton's theory of Astronomy.²⁹

In 1862, the Government changed the policy on the venue of the hill schools. Places of easier reach were selected for the purpose. Such schools became popular in Kandha tracts and the number of students in those schools increased. Further, the standard of education in those schools improved due to the improvement in teaching and effectiveness of supervision.³⁰ Now teachers were appointed from among those who received training from the Teachers' Training School at Russelkonda.³¹

In 1863, the Madras Government passed an Act for the better management of the schools.³² But this Act did not help in the improvement of the school system.³³ In 1866, particularly in the Kandha tracts of Ganjam, the state of education came to face rapid deterioration. There was a drastic fall in the attendance of the Kandha students in those hill schools. And it was ascribed to the frequent Kandha risings of that year. To improve the situation, the Government appointed a School Superintendent in 1868 for all the hill schools with a monthly salary of thirty rupees for the supervision of teaching and learning in those schools. This measure of the Government proved somewhat effective. The attendance at the hill schools considerably improved. Of course behind it lay the proper vigilance of the superintendent of the hill schools.³⁴

During this time some changes were made. The school at Upperbhaga was closed down and some establishment was transferred to Parushottampur. A school was also opened at

Rayagada in Joripoor Samindari under the Grant-in-aid rules. To this school a teacher was sent from Ganjam.³⁵ By 1887 there were thirteen schools in Ghumsar and Chinnu Khandy with 471 pupils on roll. An examination conducted by School Inspector H. B. Gigg was attended by 363 pupils.³⁶ At the same time the Kandha people were quite indifferent to education and the condition of the schools was not satisfactory. The Madras Government brought this fact to the general notice in 1867 in the following words: "The condition of the schools cannot, the Government regret to say, be considered satisfactory but very considerable advances must necessarily be made for the good of the district in view of procuring competent Masters in this part of the country and for the millions embraced by an uncivilized population to the advantage of education in respect of most of these schools there is the same story of incompetent or idle Masters, regular attendance being nothing of attendance, and want of efficient superintendence."

In 1888, two new schools were opened in the Kandha tracts of Ganjam, one at Kasongim and the other at Gudrigam. But in every school the attendance was irregular and there was hardly a boy who was found to have taken active interest in his work. In this year the School Inspector H. Bowers remarked that the growth of education in the tracts of Ganjam was highly unsatisfactory. The reasons behind it could be ascribed to the high standard of education prescribed for the schools, the want of efficient supervision, the total indifference of the people to education, and the inefficiency of the Masters. The School Inspector suggested that the schools should be placed under the direct supervision of the European Officer stationed on the hills, that the course of instruction should be as simple as possible, that it should be restricted to what the Masters were competent to teach, namely reading writing and the Elements of Arithmetic, and that he also suggested an increase in the pay of the Masters and the reforming of a Native Lassa Rusarik into a Junior Assistant Agent in charge of the hill tracts of the Schools.³⁷ Pointing out the lack of proper housing scheme, the schools were made the following remark: "It seems to me unreasonable to expect a school to be held in a shed or in a thatched house, dark and not of the house."³⁸

The Madras Government, considering the above recommendations took some positive steps to improve the condition of education in the Kandha tracts, particularly to attract Kandha students to the schools. Books and slates were supplied to them and scholarships were instituted.³⁹ In this regard one European official J. M. Smith wrote a small hand book of the Kandha language. It was prepared on the collection of some old works viz. "The Old Chrys Hand Book" of P. Fries, "Fables in the Khond language" and "A Goodrich's Vocabulary".⁴⁰ The book of Smith was written in Roman script partly because the Kandha had no writing system and partly because it would be more useful to any English man as it was in that language.⁴¹ The use of Roman script in the Kandha language was financed by the Madras Government. Two hundred fifty copies of it were printed in 1875 at a total cost of one hundred twenty seven rupees.⁴² Even though the unsatisfactory condition of P. Fries and the quantity of school books in the Kandha language had already been prepared.⁴³ All these books not only encouraged the Kandha students, but also enlightened the teachers and the British Officers in the matter of teaching their language.

The Government also tried to induce all European officials residing in the Malakha to qualify themselves in the Kandha language. Ramus, the Belgada Magistrate, was awarded five hundred rupees for passing the Kandha language examination.⁴⁴ The Government of India by its order No. 588 dated 28th May 1874 had also fixed a reward of 300 rupees to an European and 250 rupees to a Native official who could pass a successful colloquial examination in that language.⁴⁵ That was because the acquisition of colloquial knowledge on the part of an educational officer and other officers of the Kandha tracts was of great importance. Their duties in the hills were considerable. The collection of Kandha books, short hand books and Fries's Khond manuscript and the British officials' immense in acquiring themselves in the native language. Furthermore the Government felt that schools established in the Kandha language was to be directed for giving instruction to Kandha pupils in the schools of their own language.⁴⁶

Thus undeniably there was a progress of education in the Kandha tracts though it was quite slow. Referring to the working of schools

in the Kandha tract, C. F. Mac Carr. S. 4. A. A. elegant Agent in Ganjam, in his report of 1881 has written in glowing terms the state of these schools at least since 1878. I see no cause for despondency in regard to the future prospects of the progress made had not been by leaps and bounds, at any rate they have in no case fallen back." ²⁰ By 31st March, 1882, there were fifteen hill schools in Ghumsar and Chana Kruady Malaba. In these schools the attendance of Kandha students was 257, out of which 250 were boys and 7 girls. ²¹ In order to popularise education among the Kandhas, games were also introduced in their schools. This led to a remarkable increase in attendance. ²² The Government noticed that not only the Kandhas but also the Kandha Chieftains like the patros and Bisaois were taking keen interest in education and there was a growing demand for schools in Kandha villages. ²³ Further some of the Kandhas who were educated in the hill schools became teachers. ²⁴ By 1881, there were four Kandhas among the teaching staff of the hill schools. ²⁵ In the hill school of Udivagin the Headmaster was a Kandha. He was Subudhi Malika. ²⁶ Another improvement was the interest of the Kandha girls in getting education. In this connection the Special Assistant Agent in Ganjam reported his own experience thus, "The Kandha girls were proud of what they had learnt, crowding round me, whereas they are generally shy, to show me the specimens of their handwork." ²⁷ Furthermore, decided improvements in personal cleanliness, such as wearing fashionable clothes purchased from the plains, was found among the Kandhas due to the impact of education.

When this was the progress of education in the hill tracts of Ganjam, very little was achieved in Khandamala in this respect. As late as 1888, no serious steps were taken there for the improvement of education. When Dinabandhu Patnaik joined there as Tahasildar he felt the necessity of spreading education amongst the local people and got a school sanctioned at Bisipais, the then Headquarters of the Tahsil, at an expenditure of thirty rupees per month. ²⁸ Even then the people of the locality were indifferent to getting their children educated. Dinabandhu Patnaik worked hard to bring home the utility and benefit of education to the people and succeeded in getting 66 boys and 15 girls to join the school. He also found that number of boys were too poor and it was

difficult for them to get a daily meal regularly. So, Dinabandhu Patnaik made a further attempt and succeeded in eliciting the sympathy of some general local officials and other gentry in getting a contribution amounting to eighty-three rupees for the purpose. ²⁹ It was no doubt a good beginning for the future growth of education among the Kandhas of Khandamala. Gradually they evinced a desire to educate themselves through schools. ³⁰ In this context, T. E. Ravenshaw, the Commissioner of Orissa in 1872-73, reported "A remarkable move in relation to education has been made among the wild tribes of Kandha hills. These people have submitted of their own wish, and adored of their own motion, to a tax on liquor shops, the proceeds of which are devoted to the establishment of schools. The tax has been realised without difficulty, and a number of schools have been built and are maintained by the people themselves." ³¹ However, by the end of the twentieth century, in the Khandamala there were twelve Primary Schools, with Khandha teachers exclusively for the benefit of the Khandhas. But the progress was not satisfactory, mainly for the fact that the Kandha children were taught by means of an Oriya Primer, which they could not understand, as they spoke only the Kandha dialect. ³²

In Jaypore Estate, the growth of education among the Kandhas was very slow. By 1888 there was not even a single school in the whole of the Viragopalem Agency which included the Jaypore Estate. Carmichael then wrote, "The school we set a foot at the town of Jaypore on our first entering the country three years ago, met with no success whatever, and after struggling for some time with neglect and the climate, the master came down and shortly afterwards died." This school was not revived for some years, and a fresh beginning was made for opening a school at Gunupur. Thus due to the absence of schools, the Kandha children of Jaypore Estate were deprived of education. By 1896-98, however, the condition had already been improved and there were 120 schools in the Agency under the charge of the Assistant Agents at Keonjhar and Parvatput, with 2581 pupils. Thus the establishment of schools enabled the Kandha children to go in for education, though quite late. But still the progress was slow compared to that of Ganjam district.

Thus due to the sincere efforts of some British officials and Missionaries the Kandhas were somehow educated. Of course it was very little compared to that of the people of the plain areas. Initially the Kandhas remained apathetic and indifferent to education due to their superstitious beliefs against learning. But when the Madras Agency was created to suppress human sacrifice and infanticide, then the spread of education in the Kandha tracts became one of the prime objectives of the

Government. HSI schools were opened and parents were persuaded by the Government to send their children to those schools. Missionaries too worked hard to enlighten the Kandha children. Gradually the Kandhas could understand the utility of learning. Being enlightened under the fold of education, the Kandhas improved their social behaviour and habits. Subsequently they were no more to be depicted as 'stupid and ignorant'.

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I. C. D. S. : A STUDY EXPERIENCE IN THE RANCHI DISTRICT OF TRIBAL BIHAR

Kulakantha Panigrahi

Development as a complex whole has been traditionally identified and interpreted with many indices by scholars. Passing through a historical experience it aims to bring high productivity, high income, high saving, high investment, abolishing social evils viz. literacy unemployment, under nutrition, high fertility and mortality rates, assuring self sufficiency to individual households and communities. Tribal Development in India is one of such strategies provided through constitutional yardsticks. Since independence, through different approaches viz. Community Development Programmes, Tribal Development Sub-Plans, Tribal Development Co-operative Corporations (TPCC), Integrated Tribal Development Projects (ITDP) and schemes like KREP, RLSEF, SFDA, MFDA, DPAP etc., the planners, administrators, academicians, political thinkers, have been attempting to prepare and implement action plans in order that useful end results can be effectively achieved.

There is a view among many experts, that mostly non-tribal leaders and administrators think on tribal development and have been formulating plans, projects without considering the local ethno-social and the political economy of the tribals. They also view that any process of development succeeds only when decision makers formulate projects with a view to ascertain people's participation during implementation (Panda: 1988, Parthy: 1988) otherwise, it has also been recognised that, development for human society not confine simply with material, rather for its achievement, particularly in third world countries, the significance of non material bases are of high priority. Max Weber (1962)

view on the relation between protestantism and the emergence of Capitalism¹ has established the importance of such non-material base (a.g religion) in stimulating and sustaining the development process.

Of many developmental schemes implemented so far, Child Welfare Programme initiated in 1954 and later in 1975 renamed as Integrated Child Development Schemes (ICDS) as a preventive protective and promotive strategy is considered the most effective programme.

STUDY UNIVERSE

Method

The present study adopted techniques of in-depth observation on the target beneficiaries of ICDS in the tribal district of Ranchi in Chhotanagpur plateau of Bihar State. Observations were primarily made on randomly selected focus groups who were essentially tribal women.

Besides this, the block office I.C.D.S, Centre, Community Development Project Officers (CDPOs) Supervisors, Anganwad workers, were also considered for both individual and group interviews. Bihar Tribal Research Institute (BTRI), of Ranchi was consulted for all secondary references.

For the purpose of the present study three villages of Angada Project and two villages of Namkum Project were selected and in each village two focus groups, each comprising of ten to fifteen members across two age brackets (15 to 30 and 31 to 45 approximately) were selected at random for the observations. As the villages are located in and around 30 Kms. of Ranchi Town.

I.C.D.S. aims at delivering a package of services such as supplementary nutrition, immunisation, periodical health check-up of both children and mothers, health and nutrition education and non-formal pre-school education in an integrated manner to children of below 6 years, and to expectant and nursing mothers. With an aim to see the achievement of these objectives by I.C.D.S. programmes so far implemented in some of the tribal regions of Bihar of India, the following objectives of the present study were formulated.

They were viz

- (i) to find out the prevalent knowledge primarily based on traditional practices pertaining to mother and child care, among the community members in the tribal regions
- (ii) to gather peoples attitude towards I.C.D.S. in general and its various programmes in particular
- (iii) to highlight the existing level of community participation and people's expectation on I.C.D.S. programmes.

THE PEOPLE, A ETHNO-SOCIAL PROFILE

Chotanagpur Plateau includes the districts of Dumka (Santhal, Pargana), Ranchi, Palamu, Gaya, Singhbhum and consists of three rugged plateau and regions of unevenness. Since a few decades, this plateau which was covered with dense forest and infested with wild animals has been affected by multifaceted economic development in the form of mines, industry etc. Such indiscriminate exploitation of resources brought many social, nutritional and socio-economic problems to the local tribals. The population distribution as per 1981 census of all 13 project districts basically lies in the tribal regions of Bihar, shares 26.88 per cent of Scheduled Tribes, 13.77 per cent of Scheduled Castes. The study districts of Ranchi shares 47.46 percent of tribals, 6.38 per cent of Scheduled Castes. Ten different major tribes are found in this region, which shares 92 per cent of the total tribal population of Bihar. They are viz. Santhal, Oraon, Mundas, Ho, Khurwar, Lahar, Kharis, Bhumi, Gond and Mals. Numerically as well as linguistically Santhals, Oraons and Mundas constitute the major Tribal areas. There are some tribes insignificant both in population and literacy, such as, Chero, Bishudi, Gomit, Khond, Parhaiya and Chick Bareik. The occupational distribution of the tribal population

as per 1981 show that, only 2 per cent of the total tribal strength are engaged in the industrial and related productive work. The State though rich with minerals and ores, the proportion of tribals engaged in mining and quarrying operations is also negligible.

The socio-cultural composition and the political economy of the tribals of this region has been largely affected by the onset of modernisation. However, the sense of ethnicity significantly expressed through their dialect, festivals and folk culture, but due to the negative forces its degree of cohesion, intensity found varying from community to community. The village youth dormitory is found performing some of its social obligations like, treating the family and village guests, rendering labour during agricultural operations, participating in various communal activities viz. ceremonies, rituals, educational, economic and many other public functions. The tribals believe that, natural objects exercise a rewarding influence on their life for which they perform periodic prayers and offerings. The pregnant women both in their pre- and post-delivery period observe certain restrictions and taboos in their day to day life. The old experienced women of the community always attend the mothers and cuts the umbilical cord of the child with a bamboo knife. The practice of purificatory baths are also observed by the mother at different stages with an aim to keep herself and the child free from infections. On the whole it can be said that certain factors like cultural contact with the aliens, industrialisation, deforestation, educational development, welfare activities have brought change in both material and non-material culture of this tribal communities. Besides, the communication facilities and the missionary activities could no more keep them in an isolated state.

Discussion

The first objective aims at finding the traditional knowledge, skill and techniques of the people to nourish mother, child and its privelences in their day to day life. The long discussions with older groups particularly among females, shows the prevalence of such practices and the existence of village mid-wife (dhar) system. Earlier by and large almost all village female seniors were performing this role. They are named differently in different communities. Starting from the conception till the birth of a child they are in constant touch for giving

educative guidelines to the mothers. Even, in post-delivery period they are taking personal care of the little baby and the mother. Their knowledge was basically based on practical experience handed over from one generation to another. Later on, the State tried to adopt such 'dhar' system as a support to the public health organisation. The functioning of Anganwadi workers health visitors, though have restricted their working arena but, 'dhar' as an institution is still maintaining its functional identity and couldn't totally be undermined and/or absorbed by the modern health system. The modern health strategies viz. the family welfare, immunisation, health and nutrition education, health check up, referral services to each expectant and nursing mothers belonging to vulnerable groups, though has employed the non-outliers, but many a time found unacceptable to the community. The system though needed help from few 'dhar' by absorbing them in nominal prices, but lacked in providing skill training in respect of modern health strategies. So, the traditional skill and knowledge on mother-child care in both pre and post-natal periods more or less found irrelevant side by side with the modern system. In many cases people are found adopting ethnomedicine for delivery treatments and child care. Reasons like non-availability, non-acceptability and ignorance played important role, but their long standing experience on the ethnomedicine and traditional practices seems more scientific for their adherence to traditional, rudimentary treatment methods.

The second objective of the paper is to know people's attitude towards I.C.D.S. in general and its different programmes in particular. Some of the major C.D.S. programmes in principle has been framed such as non-formal pre-school education, primary health care for both mother and child in pre and post-natal period, assisting public health centres for immunisation campaigning health check up of both nursing mother and child health and nutrition education, etc. Besides, Anganwadi workers are required to conduct community surveys, visiting beneficiaries, organising and conducting functional literacy classes maintaining registers, liaising with other village association for better implementation of the scheme.

From the interviews it was found out that most of the community members have little knowledge about the total activities and/or programmes of I.C.D.S. and on its significance. For example: provision of supplementary

nutrition like 'milk' has been felt as if as concern for the poor and hungry people. A few also think it as a method to attract the children to the centres. As illiteracy is a part of their life the meaning of writing and reading materials has also less significance. So, the wall writings, visual displays, audio video materials has greater significance, but its non-availability both at block and village level certainly affects negatively on people's acceptance of different I.C.D.S. components. The study also shows that the deviations of prescribed rules and regulations while implementing I.C.D.S. programmes are found more with the concerned officials, has been rightly pointed out by the people in the process, because of the low level of knowledge on different programmes many people at large have developed an attitude of detachment and apathy towards C.D.S. programmes.

Thirdly an analysis has been made on community participation in I.C.D.S. programmes. Community participation is very essential for the success of the programmes, because, it helps in focusing a sense of belongingness, and provides an opportunity to the local people in controlling their own development. The degree of community participation always depends on the objectives of the programme. When the objectives are viewed as a way of achieving certain specific and immediate targets, the people are used as an instrument in the process, but when the target is a means of achieving some higher and long term objectives meant for self help and look for sustainability the people are used as a part of the process and of selected means. It is admitted that, there is a gap on the conceptualisation of community participation by the social scientists, politicians and field workers. Apart from this, the expected level of community participation is found lagging behind because of the gap between the assurances and achievements. However resource constraints largely affect the level of community participation, has to be given due importance.

Community participation in I.C.D.S. in general and its different programmes in particular can be seen at different areas of scheme implementation. It can broadly be divided into three major spheres viz. Organisational, Functional and Emotional. From this angle a few examples can be sighted from our study experience. From the beginning one has to agree that implementation of I.C.D.S. has shown States concern for people's welfare and needs

support from its people. Likewise, implementation of the scheme shows people's acceptance their participation in the process, from whom the State wants to fix a certain responsibility. However, the concept of 'wellness and people's participation' varies in degree and largely dependent on each other.

People's participation in the organisational level of LCDS functioning has shown a positive attitude. It proves when the community provided their beer houses to run the centres, allowing community members to work as Anganwadi Workers and Local Assemblies even in a nominal price. It is found that, the scheme is lacking in motivating the people for their further participation, and the implementors are unable to involve themselves personally to the expected level.

At functional level the poor quality of the food materials, discontinuity in its supply and

almost no supply of other necessary infrastructures particularly of the communication materials are some of the discouraging factors for people's participation. Apart from this, shortage and irregular supply of food materials to the block centre, its transportation problem from the block to the village centre, want of fuel for food preparation, poor and irregular payment of Anganwadi Workers and of local assistants have also affected the involvement of both people and the implementors. The poor involvement is both beneficiaries and of the organisers that has directly affecting to the functional utility of the scheme. In this process we see a mental alienation of the field level workers (though sometimes they are physically involved to the programme implementation). It also affects the villagers for sending their children to the centre listening to the advice of the Anganwadi workers, reducing their physical co-operation in running the centre and the like.

STUDY IMPLICATIONS

From the above discussion based on field experience, a few concluding remark can be made. The suggestions made by various authors and published by Bose (1985), Tandon (1985), Sharma (1987), Pande et al. (1990) on the problems and prospects of LCDS are also noteworthy. A few more can be added to the store of present knowledge.

The motivation process for beneficiary awareness on LCDS. Implementation needs a qualitative change and communication support in the form of audio and visual methods based on the cultural needs of the community should be constructed and provided to the grassroots level LCDS centres.

Motivational inputs in the form of training, workshop, discussion and exchanging ideas to the implementors should be given importance on priority basis.

Resource management should be dynamic, quantitatively sufficient enough and qualitatively acceptable one in serving the community.

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(This paper has been based upon the field experience of the author, gathered as a research team member in the "Communications Baseline Study With Special reference to Strengthen LCDS Project in Bihar" With World Bank Assistance undertaken by D.J.P.S. Communication Centre, Bhubaneswar)

Fertility and Contraceptive Patterns among the "HO" in an Industrial Setting

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and
Anita Kumar Pattanik

India's colossal population growth is the most important threat to the National Development. So fertility which is a complex process and an instrument of population increase, occupies a central position in "population study". Fertility though is a biological process is influenced by social, cultural, economic and environmental factors. In the country like India fertility performance of the different population groups differ because of ecological, socio-cultural, ethnic diversities and complexities. But despite of all these diversities, actual changes in fertility are determined by the changes in the behaviour as suggested in the proximate determinants model and one of which is "contraceptive use and effectiveness". India is the first country to launch "Family Planning Programme" on Government level since 1952.

In India, Orissa is a State which comprises people of various religious and ethnic groups, where modernisation and industrialisation is a more recent and people are traditional in nature. Keeping in view the India's Population Problem, the present paper purports to highlight the fertility pattern and acceptance of contraceptives of a tribal community; the Ho's not leading a traditional forest life but working in the industry; the 'Kalinga Iron Works' in Keonjhar district of Orissa.

The Community under study

One of the most important mineral based industry in the 'Kalinga Iron Works', Barbil (in Keonjhar district) which is situated 320 Kms. far from Bhubaneswar, the Capital City of Orissa. This Tribal community the 'Ho's' working in this

industry live around the plant in small clusters. These clusters are called 'hatings'. The hatings which are included in this study are Uttam Singh Hating, Chachai Hating, Dama Hating, Tapan Hating, Mandi Hating, Ashwin School Hating and Barapada Hating, in Madanbada area of Barbil Municipality. Among the different principal tribes, Ho's are numerically large in Keonjhar district as well as in Madanbada. Unlike their counterparts living in the forest area, they earn their livelihood, mainly depending on the industry where they work as labourer. They supplement their income by casual labour (where both men and women work) and also from forest collection. These people though attend the temples and observe the Hindu festivals still have not left their traditional ways of worshipping of spirits, treating of sickness by elders using herbs and roots in the traditional way. In spite of being exposed to industrial facilities 40-18 per cent males and 60-73 per cent females are literate (belonging to all age-groups during the study period January 1990 to March, 1990). But they are more modernized in their dress pattern and day to day life pattern.

Materials and Method

The study has been divided out in the seven hatings (as mentioned earlier) including 250 families and at least one from each family is working in the plant. All of them work in the plant as labourer either on permanent basis or on temporary basis. The census method involving house to house survey was used and the study extended from January 1990 to March 1990.

The data collection was done using the schedule and by interviewing the respondents daily through house to house survey. The respondents were invariably the wives but sometimes the husbands were also consulted at the time of need. The demographic profile of the wives have been taken into consideration for the purpose of this study. The age of the wife has been considered as the important basis of classification of the data as she is the most important reproductive unit. The eligible women were classified into 4 groups (belonging 15 to 45 years). Tubectomy and vasectomy have been considered together as "sterilization". After collection of information the data was compiled, tabulated and analyzed. The data was subjected to different statistical methods to assess the fertility pattern and use of non-reception according to the age of the wife.

Result and Discussion

In the 280 households 248 couples were eligible for the study of reproductive performance (ever married women living with husbands and have at least one live birth). The reproductive performance of these couples according to the age of the wife has been shown in the Table No. 1. In total the average conception per woman is 3.34, number of children born 3.28, but average number children survived at the time of survey was 2.97 or '3'. The average number of children died per woman is 0.29 and reproductive wastage by abortion is only 0.06 which is a very negligible fertility pattern of the women belonging to different age groups shows decrease in number of conceptions, live births, surviving children and reproductive wastage in the younger age groups with some deviation in the age groups '35 to 44 years and 45 years and above'. This is probably due to difference in sample size. Only 20 women belonged to the age group 35 years and above. Highest percentage (23.11) of first children born within two years of marriage and average gap between the births vary between 2-3 years. The fertility pattern of the women depends on the age at their marriage. The average fertility rates varies as 3.87, 3.82, 3.81, 3.81, 2.76, 2.37 with the increase of age at marriage as below 13 years, 13 to 15 years, 16 to 18 years, 19-21 years, and 22 to 24 years respectively. The birth performance of these women is not free from the influence of their educational status. Among the respondents 85.54 per cent are illiterate, and have average fertility rate 3.84. The other (14.46 per cent) women who are literate have

given birth to 1.6 children in average. Among the literate the average fertility rate decreases with the increase of educational level as 1.82 and 1.37 having lower Primary and Upper primary education. It is matter of concern that no woman has middle school education.

The birth performance of the women who have already passed 40 years can throw light on the future population growth as they have completed their reproductive span (little deviation may be found) and their children will take part in reproduction. The average fertility rate of these women is 4.2 (double of our family planning target). The net reproductive index (NRI) is 2.82 whereas our National target is to attend one, by the end of the century. But counting the number of children below 5 years, the child women ratio is found to be 1.07 indicating decrease of fertility rate within the next five years and decrease in population growth rate after few years.

Regarding the family planning acceptance (shown in table No-2) out of 248 couples only 14.06 per cent are the acceptors. But the eldest age group no body has accepted any one of the methods. Out of 229 eligible couples in the age group (15-35 years) only 35 couples are acceptors and all of them undergone sterilization 12 (34.3 per cent) with vasectomy and 23 (65.7 per cent) with tubal ligation. The couple protection rate is only 15.3 per cent, 28.38 per cent of eligible couples under 25 years of age 12.10 per cent of those aged 25 to 34 years and only 4.89 per cent of those aged 35 years or more are sterilized. This shows maximum coverage of under 25 years olds with sterilization and lowest among the highest age group. None of the couples having less than two living children accepted sterilization. It is observed that none of them have accepted spacing method. The family planning coverage in this area is low in comparison to the National and State figures and the entire performance is based on sterilization, with significantly more acceptance of female sterilization (almost double) than the male. The sterilization is the only method accepted because of financial incentives given to both motivator and acceptors of sterilization, which is also disproportionately higher than the incentive for acceptance of U.D. while the other spacing methods carry no incentive.

TABLE No. 1

Reproductive History of the Women According to the Present Age of Wife

Percentage of the wife (In 4 Yrs.) and No. of women	Average No. of conception	Average No. of children born	Average No. of children dead	Average No. of children surviving	Reproduction wastage
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Below 25 (74)	..	1.96	1.62	0.02	1.80
25 to 34 (91)	..	3.18	3.12	0.09	3.03
35 to 44 (84)	..	5.04	4.89	0.78	4.12
45 years and above (20)	..	4.10	3.95	0.65	3.30
Total	..	3.34	3.26	0.29	2.97

TABLE No. 2

Distribution of Couples by Acceptance of Family Planning Methods According to Present Age of Wife.

Age group in years		Non-acceptors in per cent	Acceptors (Sterilization)		Total acceptors
			Husband	Wife	
(1)		(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Below 25 Yrs.	..	71.82 (83)	12.16 (8)	16.22 (12)	28.38 (21)
25 to 34 Yrs.	..	87.90 (80)	3.30 (03)	8.60 (08)	12.10 (11)
35 to 44 Yrs.	..	96.31 (81)	..	4.99 (03)	4.99 (03)
45 Yrs. and above	..	100.00 (20)
Total	..	85.94 (214)	4.82 (12)	9.24 (23)	14.06 (36)

Conclusion

The survey, among the Hos living in Madakbedra and working in the industry highlights some changes among them than their counterparts living in the forest. These people though retain some of their traditional practices, are also very much influenced by their co-workers in the industry. Particularly in their fertility pattern though fertility rate is more than the National target, the younger groups have less children showing the increase of awareness among them through education and by leading industrial life. Average child mortality rate is less which has negative impact on fertility performance. The NRI is more than the National target, which is to be reduced. The study also reveals low family planning coverage of 14.09 per cent and the only family planning service reaching these people is "sterilization", with no spacing methods in evidence. The financial benefit for both the motivator and the acceptor is the cause of popularity of sterilization, particularly vasectomy which has not much influence in bringing down the birth rate. Very young couples are accepting sterilization instead of spacing method, which may have the bad effect in future life.

Thus, in this area an evident need for the efforts to be increased was felt for both quantitative as well as qualitative improvements in

family planning performances. Special care should be taken to increase the age at marriage and the educational level of people; particularly of the women. The present trend of contraceptive practice cannot be expected to influence the birth rate since all the efforts seem to be concentrated on sterilization only. More eligible couples having 4 to 5 children are still in the risk of producing more. Excessive emphasis on terminal method of contraceptions which are unlikely to find favour amongst the majority of couples, diverts attention from the urgent task family size. It is therefore necessary to lay adequate emphasis on the spacing methods by the family planning workers instead of sterilization.

This is a micro study in comparison to vast dimensions of the National Family Welfare Programmes which has many targets to attend by 2000 A. D., to promote the quality of the population by reducing the quantity. The findings may not form the basis of generalization, but the findings point the need of giving education and employment to the tribal people to change their attitudes towards different spheres of life and adequate care should be taken by the Family Planning Workers to increase the small family size norm; not by motivating for sterilization but by popularizing birth spacing methods.

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OBITUARY

Dr. KULAMANI MOHAPATRA was born in September 13, 1927 in the village Barila in Cuttack district of Orissa. He came from a conventional and respectable Brahmin family and adhered to strict discipline. But basically he was very independent-minded person with revolutionary approach.

He joined Ravenshaw College in the year 1944 as a student of Arts faculty and took active part in the Independence Movement contrary to his fathers expectations and helped in building various State Level Student Organizations and it was due to his best efforts; the Student Congress could come up in Orissa between the year 1944 and 1947.

He was basically a social worker and his character and personality were greatly influenced by the eminent leaders, like Sri Jaya Prakash Narayan, Sri Ram Manohar Lalohia, Sri Nabalkrishna Choudhury and Sri. Malay Das Choudhury. He developed in him an insight towards the problems of downtrodden and commitment to save for their upliftment. He took active part in social movements in Orissa by joining Socialist Party and fought for the Assembly Election in the year 1952.

In addition to his career as a social worker he achieved academic degrees. Apart from doing M. A. in English, he obtained the Post-Graduate degree in Anthropology and later was awarded Ph. D. degree in Sociology.

He joined the State Government Service in the year 1959 as a Research Officer in Tribal Research Bureau (Presently Tribal and Harijan Research-cum-Training Institute). Government of Orissa and became a Deputy Director & retired from service on attaining the age of superannuation in the year 1985. He was the head of the office for quite some time. During his tenure he had successfully guided several Research Projects undertaken by the Institute. He had published a number of research articles and edited several research report to his credit. He was also co-editor of ADIBASI, the quarterly journal of the Institute. After leaving the Institute, he never idled away, rather, continued his active efforts for the cause of poorer sections of the society. Besides, he continued his research studies in the field of social change. He became the President of Ukal Sarvodaya Mandal in the year 1986. Apart from being a Researcher, he was a capable administrator, too. He was very popular among the staff members, and for his pleasant personality, good humour, sympathetic approach and helpfulness. He was loved and respected by one and all in the Institute. He was also co-editor of the English journal 'Vigil' founded by Acharya Kripalini.

His sad demise on August 20, 1992 is a great loss to many of those who are fighting for the cause of downtrodden and weaker sections of the society. As an eminent scholar, orator, committed social worker, perceptive thinker, devoted writer, man of principle and freedom fighter he had achieved distinction in different spheres. He is no more with us. But his contributions in the field of social work and anthropology will be remembered for ever.

We, the staff members of the Institute deeply condole his sad demise and pray Almighty, "Let his soul rest in peace".

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